SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

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CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

editorial

A proposal that goes to the heart of the people

AT the July 18 17th session of the Two-Party Consultative Conference, the PRG delegation put forward the draft "Basic regulations to ensure the South Vietnamese people's democratic freedoms" as a basis for discussion and eventual adoption of overriding regulations on democratic freedoms for each of the two sides to pledge to take immediate and radical steps to implement in the zone under its control.

This important initiative of the PRG unmistakably showed its intention to abide by Article 11 of the Paris Agreement binding the two sides to immediately enforce democratic freedoms: personal freedom, freedom of speech freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership and right to free enterprise.

The PRG has been prompted by the situation in South Viet Nam at present and by the urgent requirements of the population in Saigon-controlled zone. It has rightly raised concrete points that should be carried out or prohibited at once with a view to realizing the South Vietnamese people's fundamental freedoms. Those are points of practical purport and totally consistent with the aspirations of all social segments.

While in the PRG-controlled zone the population enjoying democratic freedoms are eagerly taking part in healing war wounds and building a new, happy and sound life, in the one under the Saigon adminstration, all liberties are most grossly suppressed. Not only do the Saigon authorities continue to enforce old fascist laws, they enacted no less than 60 decree-laws and a dozen "directives" some time before the cease-fire and set up 9 more fascist tribunals. Over six months after the Paris Agreement and one month after the Joint Communiqué came into effect, they still refuse to return some hundred thousand military personnel. They have even arrested and penned up thousands of others in concentration camps and tiger cages or secretely liquidated political prisoners. Man's most elementary rights such as the freedom of movement from one place to another, from one zone to another in order to earn his living, visit his relatives, take care of his dwelling or patch of ground, are denied. Vietnamese residents abroad or those who, for political reasons, have been forced to live in exile, are not permitted to return to their homeland. Political life has become more and more oppressive. Religious communities, political parties and newspapers approving the Paris Agreement or giving expression to the people's aspirations to peace, national reconciliation and concord are banned or persecuted.

Democratic freedoms are nothing else than fundamental human rights; the urgent demands of all social sections, all forces, men and women of differing political complexions and religious creeds in South Viet Nam. Unless respect for democratic freedoms is guaranteed there is no basis for achieving national reconciliation and concord, for solving South Viet Nam's internal problems and enforcing the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

In the past six months millions of our countrymen in urban and rural areas have taken part in ebullient actions for the Saigon administration's compliance with the Paris Agreement and ensurance of democratic freedoms. Those are proofs that the PRG proposal on guaranteeing liberties to the people meet their most urgent claims.

THE attitude of either side toward democratic freedoms shows whether it implements or violates the Paris Agreement and the Joint Communiqué, whether or not it hinders the settlement of South Viet Nam's internal affairs. The Saigon administration cannot on the one hand declare that they abide by the Paris Agreement, and on the other affirm that they reserve for themselves the right to pursue their anti-communist policies, destroy neutralism and continue police actions in town and country in defiance of the people's political and economic rights.

The Saigon administration should give a serious response to the July 18 proposal of the PRG.

SOUTH VIET NAM In Struggle

Immediately after the ceasefire, the two South Vietnamese parties will:

— achieve national reconciliation and concord, end hatred and enmity, prohibit all acts of reprisal and discrimination against individuals or organizations that have collaborated with one side or the other;

— ensure the democratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of the meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of political activities, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership, and right to free enterprise.

From Article 11 of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam

Personalities and intellectuals in Saigon struggling for democratic liberties
Photo: Mme Ngo Ba Thanh (in white) still in Thieu's jail; on her right, MP Kieu Mong Thu

Are there political prisoners?

Accusation of a Saigon deputy

Speaking at the May 16, 1973 session of the Saigon "Upper House", "MP" Vu Van Mau said: "The (Saigon) administration and its spokesmen assert there are no political prisoners here. Nguyen Van Thieu declared in Rome that there were only 21,000 common law prisoners and 5,081 communist detainees. So Truong Dinh Dzu, sentenced to five years' hard labour by a drumhead Court Martial for advocating talks with the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and Mme Ngo Ba Thanh and the students fighting for the autonomy of the campus and their fellow-countrymen's right to live are just common law prisoners! This travesty of the truth and flouting of all legislation is obvious to the man in the street, let alone lawyers and other knowledgeable people.

Letter from a father to his daughter

On June 21, 1973, in a letter to his daughter a medic in the Saigon army in My Tho, Mr Le Cong Thuc, 79, a well known intellectual in Saigon wrote: "To whitewash their violations of the Paris Agreement, the (US and Saigon) governments have brazenly alleged that there are no political prisoners, whereas members of the opposition in South Viet Nam and foreign observers put their number at about 200,000; many Saigon representatives confirm this figure as reasonable while Mr Thieu advances contradictory figures to the point of ludicrousness. From his own estimate of 10,000 political detainees on January 26, 1973, Saigon Foreign Minister Tran Van Lam reduced it to 5,322:

Meanwhile, in September 1972, Hoang Duc Nha, Thieu's right hand, let it be known that about 40,000 people had been arrested in the last few weeks...-

Detaining people for political reasons, the Saigon administration is now obdurate enough to regard them as common law prisoners, thus deliberately violating Article 8 (b) of the Protocol to the Paris Agreement which stipulates: The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced: The Saigon administration has been transfering the detainees from prison to prison as trick to dispose of those considered "dangerous" or to force them to fill "open arms" printed forms, or to join the Saigon army, or to accuse them of breaking peace as a pretext to kill illegally detained innocent people.

As evidence of the obduracy of Nguyen Van Thieu who is lost to all human feeling, one must mention circular No 758/BNV/AN of his Ministry of the Interior which says: "Even if exempted from conviction or prosecution, they are considered dangerous, political detainees can always be summoned before the provincial security committee to be tried on charge of breaking the peace, in addition to forced residence deportation can be pronounced on them in virtue of decree No 620/11, if legal grounds are lacking to prosecute them at a field Court Martial."

More brazen is the following instructions contained in another secret circular sent by the Saigon administration to local authorities: "All communist activists tried in camera before the cease-fire, will be changed into common law prisoners, where as those arrested after the that date will be tried on charge of harming public security. All the dossiers of these people must be sent by hand to Saigon in sealed envelopes."

As a result, in three days June 18 to 20, 1973, the local authorities at Dien Ban, Quang Nam province, carried out many round-ups and lootings in the villages of Dien Son, Dien Tien, Dien Tho during which 126 innocent people were thrown in jail and put to horrible torture.

On June 26, 1973, the Tra Vinh authorities ordered seven GMC lorryloado of 200 political prisoners to be taken to an unknown destination while they transferred to Tra Vinh jail, 200 inmates from Can Tho prison. On the following days during a repressive action, they killed some of them and wounded many others.

Apart from these concrete examples, there have been many cases of murder of hundreds of political detainees from the central prisons down to local jails. By so doing Thieu believed that he would be able to quell the people's struggle in South Viet Nam. But the more cruel is Nguyen Van Thieu, the more isolated he becomes and the stronger he is condemned by the public at home and abroad, and the more apparent becomes his true nature namely: obduracy, bellicosity, barbarity...

Confirmation of a physician

In a letter to his friend dated July 4, 1973, Dr Phan Ngoc Lan, 69, a veteran Saigon practioner said of the diseases of a number of prisoners as follows: "As a physician of the inmates of the prisons of the Saigon administration. I deem it necessary to speak out the truth: most of the released prisoners I have cheked look outwardly healthy but are affected with dangerous diseases caused by tortures. Common are troubles caused by lack of Vitamin C, Vitamin B1, PP, B12, B2, A, D, etc.

"Other physicians and I have examined the patients and found such diseases as: cirrhosis the liver, inflammation of the colon, beri-beri; the women suffer from amenorrhoea, T.B., epilepsy, stomach ulcer, rheumatism, malaria, leprosy, scabies, dysentery, kerophtalmia, black feet, mental disorder, gingivitis, blepharitis. We have come to the conclusion that all these diseases come from the wounds on the prisoners' bodies. For instance, tuberculosis is caused by the wounds in the lungs, mentale disorder by blows on the head, gingivitis by the contamination of the holes left by extracted teeth, and many other diseases by malnutrition and the terrible living conditions in the prisons. Many detainees have caught diseases caused by unattended fractures of ribs and bones. Some of them have been tortured to invalidity.

Between June 1971 and February 1973, I examined three hundred cases and found the following: tuberculosis 30%. parlysis. mental disorders 30%, black feet, gingivitis 20%, amenorrhea 20%, malaria 100%, lack of vitamins 100%; two thirds of the patients examined were invalid and unfit for work. These findings spell out the inhuman character of the political regime of this country (read the Saigon administration). As people who have taken the Hippocratic oath, my colleagues and I will raise more strongly our voices for the abolition of such horrible penitenciary regime for the sake the detainees."

A female prisoner tells her story

Nguyen Thi Hanh, just released from the "Vinh Binh Re-Education Centre" told us: "The Tra Vinh prison has ten wards in all, including six large ones detaining each 400 prisoners. In addition, there are a dozen cells usually called by the inmates "prisons in a prison" owing to their condition which are the hardest in US-Thieu jails already nicknamed "hells on earth". There are now in Tra Vinh central prison over 4,000 detainees and a great number of children from 14 to 16, including three lads, Phuoc, Tan and Huyen, who have been savagely tortured. On February 14, 1973, 120 inmates, including two new-born babies and many old people over 70, were taken to an unknown destination.

"All the inmates of Tra Vinh prison cells are disabled. My finger tips still bear traces of the nails drivers into them, my hands now have no sensation: my knee-cap, jaw-bones, and teeth are broken by torture; my eyesight is dim and my body is covered with traces of blows given by jailers who also used other torture such as: electric shocks, burning my nipples with a lit cigarette. The victim was now as thin as a lath and unable to stand up and walk..."

Intruders punished

TAKING advantage of bad weather. Saigon armed forces in Tri Thien region, at 9 a.m. on July 11, sallied forth against the liberated Thanh Hoi area. Prior to that, on July 4, Saigon, commando had infiltrated into Vinh Hoa area to the northwest. The intruders, however, were duly punished.

In the first ten days of July, Saigon forces attacked various areas along Lai Hieu Canal in Phung Hiep district, Can Tho, with over 15,000 artillery rounds and 300 bombs. On certain days, hundreds of bombs and over 2,000 shells were slammed on areas both north and south of the Ba Lon River in Long My and Go Quao districts under PRG control. The air and artillery attacks were followed up by infantry assaults, during which Saigon troops inflicted serious losses in lives and property on the population.

Also in Can Tho, four battalions of the Saigon 9th Division, in conjunction with the armour and a huge civil-guard force, intruded into Cai Son in Phung Hiep district on July 11. The PLAF, acting in legitimate self-defence, opened up and killed 40 trace-breakers and routed the rest.

Saigon forces launched 200 land-grabbing operations on liberated areas in Vinh Long province from June 14 to 15. The intruders, however, were violently intercepted, and over 500 of them were put out of action by the guerillas. Besides, Saigon forces had to evacuate 7 posts.

Under air and artillery cover, 3 infantry battalions, one armour battalion, 2 civil-guard battalion, and one frontier battalion made a series of onsets on PRG-controlled areas northwest, west and southwest of Kontum town between July 12 and 15. 102 bombs and 4,683 105- and 155-mm shells were dumped on Dakrot, Ngoc Bay, Trung Nghia, Ngo Thanh, Plei Clo and Peak 674. Dozens of rounds of 175-mm shells were fired at Kleng area, 12 miles west of the town. On July 14-15, 74 bombs and close to 3,000 artillery rounds were laid on Trung Nghia, Ngo Thanh and Peak 674 in support of ground assaults by many Saigon battalions.

On July 13, another battalion and a scout company were sent to a liberated area south of Chu Thoi while dozens of commando groups were dispatched to Gia Lai and Darlac provinces.

The defenders of the High Plateaux countered with force pushing back all the attacks by the Saigon soldiers, and putting a great number of them out of combat.

Many Saigon units of the civil-guard, security and ranger forces were thrown into prolonged operations along highways 6 and 8 in Phu Yen province late in June and early in July. In counter-attacks, regional liberation forces wiped out some 50 cease-fire-breakers and destroyed 8 military vehicles.

In Rach Gia province, on July 12, liberation gunners in retaliation-bombarded the artillery site in the Thac Lac military zone while, in another area, liberation forces intercepted a battalion and a company on the Saigon 21st Division, inflicting on them over 40 casualties and putting the rest to flight.

The life of 200,000 prisoners are being seriously jeopardized

Urgent appeal of the South Viet Nam Committee of Struggle for the Freedom of Patriotic and Peace-Loving people still Detained by Saigon administration

THE South Viet Nam Committee of Struggle for the Freedom of Patriotic and Peace-Loving people still Detained by the Saigon administration on July 22 issued the following urgent appeal to compatriots across the country and Vietnamese residents abroad and to peace-, freedom-and justice-loving people in the whole world.

The appeal stressed :

..." The life of hundreds of thousands of beloved sons and daughters of the Vietnamese nation is being seriously jeopardized. In all prisons of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, the detainees are living in extremely harsh conditions. Repression and persecution are daily occurrences. Tens of thousands of persons are affected by serious diseases and many have been crippled for life. Thousands of others have been tortured to death or seriously injured. A lot of others have been secretly disposed of. In many cases, dozens of prisoners were killed at the same time and their bodies were badly mangled. Many others were tied to rocks and thrown into the sea. Many others were shot dead and their bodies thrown into the jungles or uninhabited places in order to wipe off all evidence. Torture and massacre of prisoners have continued with increasing atrocity.

Besides, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration has resorted to every way and means to refuse returning captured and detained personnel as stipulated by the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communiqué. It has beat many detained persons to unconsciousness then forced them to sign to or put their finger-prints on ready-made pledges of "rallie-ment," "amnesty orders," and false files to change them into common law prisoners. With regard to those who have been detained for years but not yet tried, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration simply clas ified them as common law offenders. As for those pol ical prisoners who were nearing their terms, the Saigon administration again brought them to trial, gave them additional sentences, retrieved their "red card" of political prisoners and gave them the "green card" of common criminals. It also dispersed political prisoners in large jails to local jails and put them in the same rooms as common criminals.

At the same time, the Nguyen Van Thieu administration conducted hundreds of thousands of police operations, during which it staged massive "purges" and arrests to detain tens of thousands of people whose only crime is to desire peace and freedom, national reconciliation and concord."

To the friends of the Vietnamese people throughout the world and peace-, freedom- and justice-loving people in the five continents, the appeal said :

"For months now, international and national organisations, and all of you have shown concern for the fate of hundreds of thousands of our brothers and sisters who are still detained by the Saigon administration, and strongly denounced the harsh prison regime of Nguyen Van Thieu. For the sake of justice, responsibility and humanitarianism, let all of you continue with more vehemence your condemnation the criminal schemes and acts of the dictatorial and fascist Nguyen Van Thieu junta who are brutally repressing and massacring political prisoners stubbornly delaying and refusing the return of all the captured and detained persons. Let all of you demand that the United States and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration seriously implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, immediately return all the patriotic and peace-loving people, including those who belong to the third political force, still detained in South Viet Nam."

Vigorous actions for democratic freedoms

IN May and June 1973, more than 50,000 people in Tra Vinh province including Vietnamese and Khmer nationals different creeds : Buddhism, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Catholicism and families of relatives of Saigon troops attended nearly 100 meetings and gatherings to discuss the Paris Agreement and held masses for peace and rallies to welcome the return of peace or demonstrations for the Saigon administration's observance of the ceasefire and ensurance of democratic freedoms. The people thronged to garrisons and military post of the Saigon regime to claim the return of their husbands or sons in the Saigon army or handed in thousands of leaflets on national reconciliation and concord and the Paris Agreement, and calling on Saigon troops to leave the army and rejoin their families. In many places they boycotted the so-called campaign of the Thieu clique for enrolment in the "Democratic Party" and even went out to check Saigon soldiers engaged in land-grabbing operations and urged them to resist the orders of their die-hard commanders. The population also used every means at their disposal to prevent Thieu's agents from rounding up youths or breaking into pagodas and temples for drafting purpose. Thousands of people penned up by the Saigon administration in concentration camps rose up and returned to their native villages and joined in the preservation of peace.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of people on the fringes of the cities and towns or along the communications lines in Soc Trang revolted against the Thieu rule in 44 hamlets and liberated one of them comprising 300 families. The people thus freed came back to their native villages to take part in the building of a new life and resume farming.

More the 4,000 women in Cang Long district (Tra Vinh) had over 200 confrontations with the Saigon administration to demand democratic freedoms and condemn Thieu's violations of the cease-fire, and his serious encroachments upon the freedom of movement and freedom of residence of the people. They also protested against Thieu's agents forcing old people and women to undergo military training or into the "people's self-defence" force. Over 6,000 people in Quang Tri forcibly relocated to Long Khanh city, by the Saigon administration, have waged an unremitting struggle for welfare and democratic and freedoms to return to their old villages and resume their peaceful life. In three months, 141,000 people in Binh Dinh province staged 900 actions for the Saigon regime's compliance with the ceasefire, ending of it land-grabbing operations and preventing the people going about their work. In the same period, 125,000 people held 280 demonstrations for democratic freedoms, against conscription, against forcible enrolment in the Democratic Party of the Thieu clique. In addition, more than 90,000 Buddhist, Hoa Haoists and Catholics, small traders and relatives of Saigon troops of both Vietnamese and Khmer descent in Vinh Long province called a series of meetings to welcome peace or teach-ins on the Paris Agreement and national reconciliation and concord. They also staged hundreds of actions against all fascist laws contrary to the Paris Agreement and peace and for freedom of movement and of residence. Nearly 7,000 people broke away from concentration camps and returned to their native villages.

In May 1973, 540,000 people of all walks of life and religious communities and relatives of Saigon troops in West Nam Bo rose up against the Saigon administration in 260 hamlets, seized control in 174 others and more than two 2,000 families left the camps for their native places. Meanwhile, 350,000 Buddhists in Quang Nam province took part in heated debates on the Paris Agreement or meetings to welcome national reconciliation and concord. The people in this region held hundreds of demonstrations against terror and repression, for the Saigon administration's ensurance of democratic freedoms, including the freedom of belief and against the drafting of young men. The people also organized masses for peace and sent petitions to the International Commission for Control and Supervision denouncing the Saigon administration's violations of the Paris Agreement of the cease-fire and the freedom of belief of the people.

In the first four months of 1973, 100,000 people in Long An province, 40,000 people in Sa Dec and Kien Tuong provinces participated in discussions of the Paris Agreement and national reconciliation and concord. They also militated against draft, for freedom of movement, freedom of residence and against the land-grabbing operations by Thieu's troops or went to military posts of the enemy to popularize the content of the Paris Agreement to the armymen and call on them to leave their posts and return to their families and the people. These actions were supported by thousands of Saigon troops. In Sa Dec alone, the people succeeded in forcing the Saigon administration to return 370 hectares of land it had seized from the people. Together with the people in the towns and cities, the population of concentration camps rose up and thousands of them subsequently regained their native villages.

By the end of June 1973, 473,000 people in Ben Tre, and 350,000 in My Tho has organized thousands of teach-ins about the Paris Agreement and many demonstrations to demand that Thieu respect the cease-fire, and ensure democratic freedoms, stop his draft and the impressing of old folks, women and children into his "people's self-defence" units and stop the forcible enrolment into his Democratic Party. More than 6,000 people and relatives of Saigon troops along Highway 4 staged a series of actions to prevent enemy troops from entering the liberated zone and to claim compensations for the victims of Saigon's wanton shellings and bombings and for the damage caused to their houses, orchards and other property by the land-grabbers, and to urge that the Saigon administration order its troops to stop interfering with the people going about their work. Thousands of people left their concentration camps for the liberated areas. In My Tho the people forced the enemy out of nearly 20 posts they had illegally sed up in the areas controlled by the PRG and recovered 140 hectares of ricefields they had expropriated from them. In the same period, more than 60,000 people in Ba Ria-Long Khanh province organized 250 demonstrations against conscription and for freedom of movement and freedom of residence. Many people went out onto the roads to block the advance of land-grabbing troops. Meanwhile, those people penned up in concentration camps returned to their native villages to take part in production and building of the revolutionary forces and a new life. From February to April 1973, 300,000 people of Vietnamese and Khmer extraction in Ca Mau province took part in ebullient actions for democratic freedoms, including freedom of belief, and against the impress of Buddhists and Catholics into the army. In many places, the people organized self-defence forces to resist the draft agents. In other places, they boycotted the forcible enrolment into the Democratic Party or went out to hold up land-grabbing operations of the Saigon army.

Almost all the actions of the population in Saigon-held areas for democratic freedoms including freedom of movement, freedom of residence and the right to freely return to their native villages have enlisted the sympathy and support of most offices and troops of the Saigon army. Such militancy of millions of people in the towns and the contested areas has roused Saigon soldiers to anti-war actions and disobedience of orders to mount land-grabbing raids.

The Nguyen Van Thieu administration, aided and abetted by the United States, is still obstinately sabotaging the Paris Agreement, underming peace and national concord, suppressing all democratic liberties of the people. The present drive of the population in the Saigon-controlled areas for full implementation of the Paris Agreement, enforcement of democratic freedoms, and realization of peace, national reconciliation and concord, continues to gain momentum. It will surely grow into a broad and irresistible popular movement that will sweep away all those who obdurately betray the country and oppose the nation.

New and important initiative of the PRG

At the 17th session of the Consultative Conference of the two South Vietnamese parties held at the La Celle St Cloud Palace in Paris, on behalf of the PRG, Minister Nguyen Van Hieu tabled a new and very important initiative, a draft document entitled "Basic Provisions Ensuring the Democratic Liberties of the South Vietnamese People."

BASIC PROVISIONS ENSURING DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

In conformity with the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam which recognize the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

To meet the deepest aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, namely peace, independence, democracy and national concord and ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

In keeping with Article 11 of the Paris Agreement providing that the two South Vietnamese parties are responsible for immediately guaranteeing the democratic freedoms of the people: personal freedom, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of organization, freedom of political activity, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of earning livelihood, freedom of ownership and freedom of business.

To contribute to a serious implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam and the Joint Communiqué of June 13,1973.

The Two South Vietnamese parties agree on the "Basic provisions ensuring democratic freedoms for the South Vietnamese people" and commit to promulgate at once in the areas under their respective control the legislative texts and other concrete measures to ensure the immeditate and complete implementation of the content of these "basic provisions" without advancing any pretext whatsoever to delay that implementation or to impose restrictions on these democratic freedoms.

CHAPTER 1

Principle of equality of all citizens and all organizations and of their right to equal guarantees in the exercise of democratic freedoms

Article 1

All citizens, irrespective of their nationality, sex, political tendency, belief, social standing, cultural standard, profession, period of residence, as well as all political, religious, cultural and social organizations are equal and are entitled to equal guarantees in the exercise of democratic freedoms.

Article 2

No individual and organization shall enjoy any privilege or suffer any restriction on democratic freedoms.

Article 3

Any complaint against a violation of these "basic provisions" shall be examined and solved, within the shortest delays. Necessary and urgent measures shall be worked out and applied so as to prevent the recurrence of such violations.

CHAPTER 2

Guarantee of personal freedom

Article 4

The inviolability of the body and abode of the citizen, and the secrecy of their correspondence are respected and guaranteed.

Article 5

1. All acts of violence, terror, repression and encroachment on the people's life and property are strictly prohibited.

2. No citizen can be arbitrarily imprisoned, deported or subjected to preventive detention in contravention of current laws, either because of mere suspicion, or without files, or without trial by a tribunal, etc.

3. Those arrested and detained must be treated humanely.

It is strictly prohibited to murder the detainees and put them to tortures in order to squeeze avowals from them or to force them to commit acts harmful to their dignity and their human person.

All inhuman regimes of detention and imprisonment are strictly prohibited. All prisons of the type of "concentration camps" are abolished.

4. The right to defence of the accused shall be respected and guaranteed.

Article 6

All cases shall be tried publicly by an ordinary tribunal.

Article 7

All Vietnamese civilian personnel arrested and detained in South Viet Nam shall be returned immediately.

All democratic freedoms, personal security and a normal life shall be guaranteed to the returnees. The property confiscated from these persons shall be restored or fully compensated.

CHAPTER 3

Guarantee of political rights, freedom of residence and freedom to choose a trade and means of living

Article 8

1. The people's freedom of residence shall be guaranteed. The people shall be free to return to their own village to earn their living, to move from one place to another in the same zone or between two zones respectively controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties to earn their living, visit their relatives, tend their fields, orchards, houses and look after the tombs of their kin, etc.

The rights to free correspondence between the two zones controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties shall be ensured.

2. Any forms of herding, controlling, coercing the people or hampering and restricting their freedom of movement are strictly prohibited.

Article 9

Vietnamese residents and those living abroad for political reasons shall be free to return to South Viet Nam to visit their families, earn their living, and build up their native land.

Article 10

1. All citizens are free to earn their living and choose their profession.

2. Beating and encroaching upon the dignity of workers and public employees are strictly prohibited.

Workers and public employees are guaranteed the right to go on strike.

3. Peasants are guaranteed the right to return to their old villages to earn their living.

4. Handicraftsmen are guaranteed the right to freely earn their living, and small traders and small landlords the right to freely choose their craft.

5. Doctors, pharmacists, engineers, journalists, lawers and intellectuals engaged in other liberal professions shall be guaranteed freedom of practice.

CHAPTER 4

Guarantee for the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and political activity

Article 11

To guarantee the right of everybody, every organization to freely and publicly express their political views.

Article 12

1. To respect and guarantee the freedom of the press and of publication.

2. To cancel all forms of censorship, cancel all measures aimed restricting freedom of the press such as seizures, compulsory posting of money with the government, fines, etc.

Article 13

To respect and guarantee the freedom of assembly, No authorization is necessary for gatherings, meetings and demonstrations.

Article 14

1. To guarantee the freedom of organization of political parties, trade unions, and youth, women's and peasants' organizations and other political, economic and social organizations.

2. For the setting up of organizations, a declaration is sufficient. No authorization is necessary.

It is prohibited to impose condition aimed at restricting the freedom of organization, such as limiting the number of members or local branches, etc.

It is strictly prohibited to force, under whatever form, someone to adhere to an organization.

Article 15

1. Freedom of political activity shall be guaranteed to all forces of various political and religious tendencies, regardless of their past.

2. All persons belonging to various political and religious tendencies are free to engage in political activities in the two zones under the respective control of the two South Vietnamese parties.

The newspapers of all political tendencies shall be free to circulate in the two zones under the respective control of the two South Vietnamese parties.

CHAPTER 5

Guarantee for the freedom of belief and freedom of worship

Article 16

1. The freedom of belief and freedom of worship shall be respected.

2. All the religions have the right to freely carry out their religious activities in both zones of South Viet Nam.

Article 17

Equality among the religions, among the believers and the non-religious people shall be guaranteed.

Article 18

1. Pagodas, churches, holy sees and temples shall be respected.

2. The right of legitimate ownership of property of pagodas, churches, holy sees etc. shall be protected.

CHAPTER 6

Article 19

1. The citizen's right to private ownership shall be protected.

2. The peasants' ownership of their lands shall be recognized.

3. The citizen's right to inheritance shall be protected.

Article 20

Freedom of enterprise for private individuals shall be guaranteed.

The national bourgeoisie shall be encouraged to develop such undertaking as beneficial to the country's economy and people's welfare.

CHAPTER 7

General provisions

Article 21

1. All activities preventing individuals or organizations from fully exercising their democratic liberties shall be strictly prohibited.

2. Those who seriously violate these basic provisions" shall be arraigned and duly punished.

3. Any damage caused shall be fully compensated.

Article 22

Any policy, law, regime, measure, etc. running counter to the spirit and letter of these "basic provisions" are null and void and shall be cancelled.

HOMELAND

(*Concluded*)

While the South stands firm in the forefront, the North pushes ahead socialist building, a great revolution which has gradually done away with hunger and poverty. TO HUU pictures some aspects of the reality prevailing in this changing past of the homeland.

I walked in the afternoon sun
Of a warm spring day
Feeling the breath of the rotund country
Looking at river banks lush with maize,
Herds of fat buffaloes from Northernmost Viet Nam
Ambling down to a new delta home.
Glistening with new straw roofs,
With newly-baked brick walls,
With heaps of white stone on the dirt track sides
Humming with new oil tanks and machines
And bustling with mushrooming schools.

Up there in the North in Spring

The people's life there is free from want and cares. Materially still poor, it is morally very rich. The happiness of each is part and parcel of the happiness of all, of the homeland.

The happiness of living today is open wide
Like our department stores.
Let lovers drop in and buy flowers
And their wedding presents :
Nam Dinh silk of a velvety softness,
Silk Street combs for raven blue locks.
We are still poor, our streets narrow, our houses thatched,
But not short of woodcuts for the Tet festival.

TO HUU

1961 Spring Song

At present Hanoi, every one of its nooks and crannies is flooded with light at night, light of joy and happiness, one which impacts confidence to everyone.

Night is still far but the streets are all lit up
In the Sword Lake's water a myriad of stars twinkle,
The West Lake is flooded with light, Ba Dinh Square is illuminated.
Lights are in every lane and back street
Glowing like blooms on trees and lawns.
Lights play on my love's glimmering locks.

VINH MAI

Saigon too is flooded with light, a sophisticated light, accomplice of debauche and crime: light of night clubs, of police cars, of flares let off by fighter-planes in search of targets... In this deluge of light, thousands upon thousands of honest people live a miserable life, thousands upon thousands of innocent ones are detained and tortured. It seems that it keeps waiting for man's hands to put it out and usher in a sheltered life.

For years my heart has been bruised
By the sight of Saigon's lurid lights in the distance
Where anxiety and longing
Every night sob out calls to me.

LE ANH XUAN

Spring in Saigon, Spring of Victory

Hanoi and Saigon offer two different pictures. Progress there frightens the men in power here who are bent on keeping North separated from South, on making them alien, hostile to each other. But how can this plot masterminded by foreigners can materialize when Hanoi is always present in the hearts of the South Vietnamese, when it is the heart of the homeland and the homeland of the Revolution.

In a poem dedicated to his sweetheart now in the North, LE ANH XUAN confides :

I feel lonely for you, for beloved North,
For your gracile silhouette on the willowy lane
Of the West Lake in the mellow evening light,
For your limpid gazelle-like look,
For northern evenings of nascent autumn,
All through my interminable march southward
The Northern star lighting up my heart.

Here the poet's feeling for his beloved mingles with his affection for the fatherland.

THANH HAI feels the contagious happiness of the northern half of his country.

This afternoon up there in the North,
Flowery robes must be fluttering everywhere,
Red flags blazing in fields and factories,
Pioneers marching to rhythm of drums and in the blare of megaphones
The whole kindred North's hearts throbbing in unison.

South Viet Nam

In the peaceful, happy life in the North, the poet sees a contribution of the South, the Fatherland's Brass Wall resisting aggression every day, every hour.
And that is the South's pride.

There in the North smiles are blooming like flowers.
Here in the South our hand are protecting such blossoms.

THANH HAI

At One Another's Side

Living in peace and happiness, the North never forgets the South. North-South communion cannot be impaired but become more intimate by partition.

The searing of each pine's branch and root on the Ngu Mountain
Hurts each willow's green leaf on the West Lake.

QUOC THAI

Each blade of grass, each branch of tree in the North
Quivers with love in the wind blowing from the South.

TO HUU

TO HUU's love for the South is most particular, infinite, and at times he describes it with very simple images.

O South, I do not know why
A cloud which quickens the flight of birds at dusk
A one-string guitar's wail, a flute's trill late at night
A shanty's stanza... always linger in my heart.

Often the thought of the pains endured by the South torments him. Its pain is his: there is no separation line between the poet and that half of his homeland.

I want to write verses full of greenness and freshness,
But I am burning to write verses full of fire.
My mind can't be at peace. The South has been bleeding
For eight long years. At dawn, I wake up
My heart aching, half my body in pain.

Inspired by the same love, our Northern fellow-countrymen fight back air marauders to defend the rear base of fighting Viet Nam, the fruits of her people's sweat and tears over the century.

O Hanoi, each time I ascend the watch tower,
I feel tremulous like in the first love
Tile roofs billow like waves of the sea
Lake surfaces seem to murmur confidences.

NGUYEN VU TIEM

For the homeland is not something vague or abstract, it is very concrete — the blue sky, a fine river, a lake with clear waters, house-tops with human life underneath, all of that having to be defended at the price of the supreme sacrifice if need be.

The North unflinchingly and orderly faces bomb showers. Fighting against air pirates has become a habit just as eating everyday. XUAN HOANG pictures an air battle over Hanoi, reminiscent of a festival.

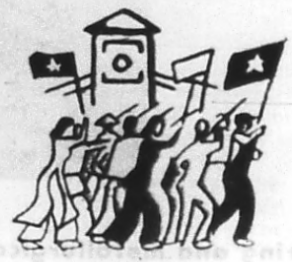
No firework display could match
Tonight's battle with US planes
A luminous fan-like web, eerie though real,
By guns from the city's five gates
Was woven
Waft crossing waft
Illuminating the West Lake
And on a stretch of the Red River
Wave crests were sprinkled with sparks.

In the first American air war (1965-1968) against North Viet Nam, Vinh Linh was the worst-raided area : I sttood firm and hit back. It seems that here life strikes its roots deeper into the ground with every passing day.

This land has been for four years awake
The road of life has gone deep down into the ground
And a sea of A-shaped shelter and a maze of trenches is seen everywhere.

TE HANH

This Vinh Linh Land



HOANG TRUNG THONG also sings the stamina and vitality of the heroic zone.

Vinh Linh, Vinh Linh
Wounds may cover your whole body
But cannot affect your heart
Nor bend your will
The bullets' trajectories are now your furrows.

While American aeroplanes thunder, threaten, play havoc in the North as though they wanted to swallow it up or bomb it back to the prehistoric era, HUY CAN writes calm verses that sound like a majestic symphony.

Millennia have melted the Dong Son brass of civilization
US bombs and bullets fall on the Ma and Chu shores and rust into heap of scrap iron
We defend our sunshine, we protect our rain for the Ma and Chu shores to prosper
We brandish our thunderbolt on the Ma and the Chu

Rain, Shine and Thunder on the Ma and Chu Rivers

And Hanoi stands firm and proud.
Like a titan, Hanoi draws itself up skyhigh
And nabs by the cuff and dips US pilots in the Red River ;

LE HA

That is not a dream. That is a reality everywhere in North Viet Nam where thousands of American planes have fallen like Autumn leaves. They continue to fall and the list of American captives to lengthen so long as the men in the White House nurture the ambition of forcing the Vietnamese people to surrender. What are the hundreds of captive thinking and dreaming of? Are they showing repentance on their deeds and expecting generosity from their captors ?

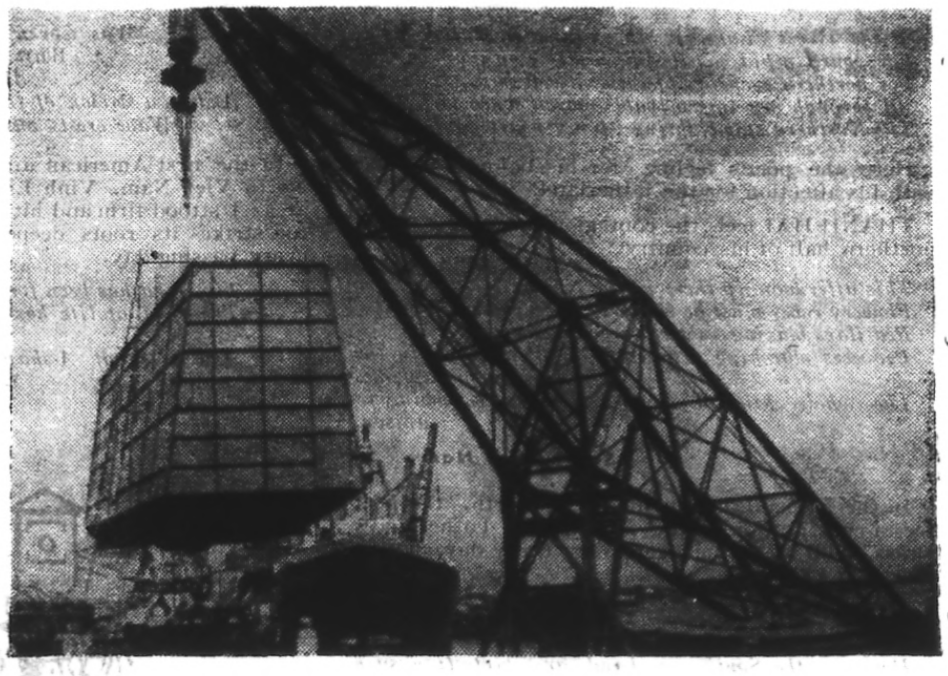
The war is going on. But peace, the deepest aspiration of the Vietnamese find a lovely, earnets expression in TRUONG QUOC KHANH's **Tay Nguyen**

If I were a bird, it would be a white dove,
If I were a flower, it would be a sunflower,
If I were a cloud, it would be a sunny cloud,
As a man, I am ready to die for my homeland,
As a bird, I would fly fast and high
Messages from South to North.
As a flower, I would glorify early love
And share with thousands of hearts the elation of peace.

The above verses — the result of the combination of man's mind and living realities — cannot of course totally render the beauty and heroism of the homeland. Neither can they depict the wonders wrought by it. Any way they do give a clear idea of its stature and prettiness. Patriotic poetry has gone deep into the people's life, and contributed to impel it forward and to change it. In this sense it is realistic, militant and national in character.

QUOC NGUYEN

The DRVN in construction



Goods unloading in Hai Phong port

Engineering and metallurgical branch displays many new products

Nearly 400 new products and many subjects of scientific and technological research were displayed near Hanoi from June 2 to July 14 by the DRVN Ministry of Engineering and Metallurgy.

During this period the exhibition was visited by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee; Truong Chinh, Politburo member of the Party CC and Chairman of the DRVN National Assembly Standing Committee; Pham Van Dong, Politburo member of the Party CC and Premier of the Government; Le Thanh Nghi, Politburo member and Vice-Premier, and many Party, State and Army leaders. Besides, more than 500 delegations of various economic branches in many provinces and nearly 10,000 engineers and technical cadres and workers came to the show to study and exchange experiences.

Excluding the stands displaying heavy equipment for the various economic branches and machines for agricultural production, the exhibition presented nearly 400 items from 10 branches and a good deal of subjects for scientific and technological research.

Visitors could see in the first stand designing projects in service of production, in which the Institute of Engineering Project Designing displayed many major projects such as the Ben Kien and Go Dam Engineering Complexes. Besides a series of designing models of test produced industrial machines, there were also models of a silicate brick kiln, a water plant for a 100,000-population provincial capital and refrigerating chambers. The Institute of Industry and craft and the Team for Research on Tractormaking have completed some scientific and technological subjects and applied them to test-production.

The stand for mining and metallurgy presented the development of extraction techniques and the processing of engineering materials. The Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel Complex has successfully solved a number of complex technical problems, and has test-produced many pouring of steel, iron and copper of good quality, and casted many big and heavy products. The Co Dinh Chromite Mine presented a new method of sorting or worked out by its cadres and workers which increased output by a half. The antimony and tin mines of Cao Bang and the Son Duong Tin Mine are boosting their extraction capacity.

Typical of the machine tool and metal-cutting tool industry were two high precision lathes recently turned out and put into operation at the Hanoi Mechanical Engineering Plant. Other displays were models of the "Nam Hai 701" fishing boat, a dredger and an air compressor for refrigerators and cooling-rooms appropriate to food stores and restaurants.

The electricity section exhibited many new products in service of shipbuilding and other industries. Many home-made or assembled electric products can partly replace those formerly imported.

Among the high-precision engineering devices were a film projector and many medical implements.

Also on show were sample bicycles and accessories produced in the DRVN. The motor section displayed many auto parts and accesssories and Diesel motor accessories and some kinds of interna combustion motors in service of agriculture. Beside pumping machines used in industry and agriculture were a number of turbines and centrifugal ventilators used in the brick kilns in service of capital construction.

The machines supplied by the engineering industry to agriculture included small sized tractors now being mass produced and other kinds of farming machines already produced or being test-produced to help in agricultural mechanization, land reclamation and cattle breeding.

More export lines

In North Viet Nam, the export quotas of many items in the first half-year sharply increased compared with the same period last year.

Some of the newly-established economic centres in Vinh Phu, Ha Bac and Lao Cai provinces have begun exporting bananas and pine-apples.

The banana-growing provinces of Vinh Phu and Hai Hung have made good flood damage and resumed the export of their product whose volume has doubled against last year. Salted duck eggs have also gone up twice as many as in the first half of 1972. In Hai Phong, duck breeding centres have also been expanded by two times.

Exports of rush gained 60%. The rise was 100% for Ninh Binh province and 70% for Thai Binh province. In Ha Bac, craftsmen have set up 42 new establishments for the production of embroidery and lace works as well as bamboo and rattan baskets and bamboo blinds for export.

By the end of June, nine provinces and towns had fulfilled 50% of their export plans for 1973.

There new rice strains

Three newly rice species obtained through cross breeding have been sown on an experimental basis in North Viet Nam. The method of sowing rice plants in flooded ricefields instead of the traditional transplanting has also been experimented. These successes, as well as a hemp thrasher and other results of scientific rasearches were presented at a recent conference of the Agricultural College Number I.

The A4 rice strains is a short-term high-quality rice with a 10% content of protein, and fairly high productivity. It is strongly resistant to alkaline and saline soils.

The TI-25 is another rice variety harvested in winter. It is characterized by its strong stalk and high resistance to pests and can be planted in low-lying fields. It is to replace the *Moc Tuyen* rice which is the main winter rice species at present.

In addition to researches on rice hybrids, the cultivation faculty of the College has also achieved satisfactory results in the experimental study of the direct sowing of rice seeds on flooded fields which opens bright prospects for the mechanization of agriculture in the specific conditions of North Viet Nam.

Hanoi Secondary School of Arts for Children

The Hanoi Secondary School of Arts for Children which opened seven years ago has graduated its first batch of students who are to become the core of the artistic movement in the general education schools and children's clubs.

Nearly one hundred children are studying in three sections: dance and ballet, musical instruments and traditional drama. In the section of National Musical Instruments, the children are taught such instruments as bamboo flute, two-stringed violin, sixteen-stringed luth, monochord luth... At the section of Western Musical Instruments, they familiarize themselves with such instruments as cello, guitare and accordion. At the Dance and Ballet section, they are taught basic movements of fold dances as well as Western ballet. After six year, the children will attain the primary level in musics, dancing and traditional drama and the 7th form of general education.

New discoveries about the Hoa Binh culture

Recently the Viet Nam History Museum and the Cultural Service of Hoa Binh province have jointly conducted archaeological digs in two sites, Hang Bung and Hang Hui, in Da Bac district, Hoa Binh province.

The finds are very varied and include many splints, scraping tools, primitive cutting tools, and also tools typical of the Hoa Binh culture such as disk-shaped or oval-shaped tools and short-handled axes.

Remarkably a large number of scraping tools similar to those found earlier in Son Vi have been unearthed,

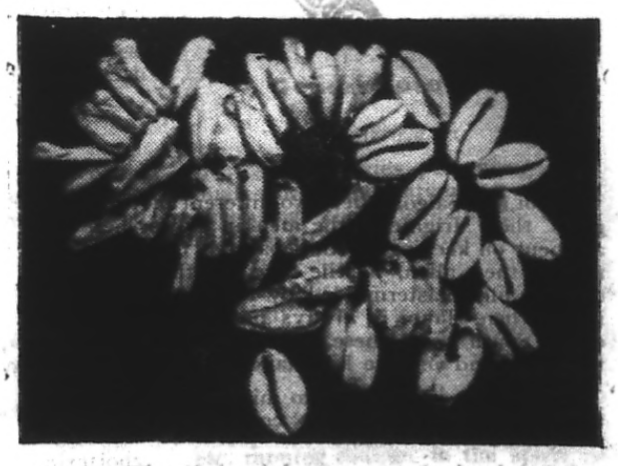
At Hang Bung, the archaeogists have discovered splints in the shape of a flying bird wing, which was never seen before.

This proves the place to be the cradle of a very ancient technique of making tools. Also here, for the first time one has uncovered a large number of Cypraea shells, a very beautiful sea mollusk the shell of which was used as ornament by the primitive man. Some fossils of man including jaw bones and fragments of skull and teeth scattered in various strata of cultural epochs were also found in Hang Bung.

The finds of this digging have led to the conclusion that the livelihood of the primitive man in Hoa Binh was fruit gathering and hunting. The sizeable Mélania shells, and fragments of bones of crabs, fish and tortoise as well as bones of deer, tigers, rhinoriceros, boars and other wild animals belong to the Hoa Binh culture dating from 10,000 to 13,000 years back.

Laboratory analyses of pollens found at Hang Bung provides very important date. These embrace a wide variety of biological groups and families. Some are very ancient species mosty prior to the paleolithic era (over 10,000 years ago) and some can be traced back to at least hundreds of millions years and whose presence in this areas is atributable to a variety of causes. However, in this collection there are also those beheved to exist in the paleolithic age. These are for instance the seeds of *Hemslyasp* of the leguminosae gens and of the gramineaea the age of which is approximately the same as that of the archaeological vestiges found ealier. Archaeologists in North Viet Nam do not rule out the possibility that these are vestiges of wildlings. But they maintain that the Hoa Binh primitive population already knew how to domesticate these wild plants. This has led to the hypothesis that in this part of North Viet Nam these existed one of the earliest forms of primitive cultivation.

In recent years, some Western researchers have found another site of the Hoa Binh culture in Thailand with vestiges of various leguminous and cucurbitaceous families and they have come to the conclusion that the Hoa Binh population of some areas in Southeast Asia was of the earliest groups of primitive man in the world.



The first time these ancient Cypraea shells found in Hoa Binh

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison

Latin-American repercussions of the attack on the Moncada

THE process of the germination of a seed begins with an increase in its size, the sprouting of roots and the appearance of a young shoot bearing the plant's first leaves — a process undetected by the human eye at the time of its unfolding.

Something quite similar occurs in society. Its movements, its progress, its commotions and its "teguments"— as in the case of the seed — can only be detected and understood in retrospect, on the basis of their historic importance.

Viewed from this standpoint, the attack on the Moncada Garrison on July 26, 1953, marked the starting point for the Cuban Revolution—and, consequently, had a bearing on the social process now under way in Latin America.

Vast social changes are, fundamentally, nothing but the linking of a series of historic events. In that sense, the characteristics of the attack on the Moncada, its prospects and its consequences marked a new course for Our America.

Latin America is present in History Will Absolve Me, the first great document of the Cuban Revolution :

... that the Cuban policy in America would be one of close solidarity with the democratic peoples of this part of the world and that all those politically persecuted by the bloodthirsty tyrants that oppress our sister nations would find generous asylum, brotherhood and bread in the land of Marti instead of the persecution, hunger and treason they find today. Cuba should be a bulwark of freedom, not a shameful link in the chain of despotism.

Thus it was that a drawing closer to the other peoples of Latin America and identification with their apirations and struggles was explicitly stated for the first time in our century — and later backed up concretely by events— in a national Latin American document. Solidarity with the other peoples of Latin America is clearly expressed together with the five principal revolutionary laws set forth by those who attacked the Moncada Garrison.

EVER since the establishment of the "Good Neighbor" policy — and even before — "revolutions" and political changes in Latin America were only effected with the approval, indifference or intervention of the United States, as dictated by the interest of the large US monopolies. Consultation was de rigueur — was, for it no longer is. Nobody consulted the United States about the attack on the Moncada and the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. That circumstance, no doubt, constituted the first symptom of the collapse in Latin America of the classic patterns of imperialism and of the monopolies' and Yankee ambassadors' position as oracles. The authors of the attack looked for support not (as was customary) from the US Ambassador, but rather from the people. And they didn't (as was also customary) consider the people to be "the well-to-do, conservative sectors of the nation" or "those who prostrate themselves before the master of the moment, grinding their forcheads into the ground." Their idea of people, as Fidel pointed out at the trial held to prosecute the survivors of the attack on the Moncada, was :

... the vast unredeemed masses, to whom all make promises and whom all deceive. We mean the people who yearn for a better, more dignified and more just nation ; who are moved by age-old aspirations for justice, for they have suffered injustice and mockery, generation after generation ; who long for great and wise changes in all aspects of their lives ; people who ; in order to attain all these changes, are ready to risk their lives when they believe in something or in someone—and especially when they believe in themselves.

It was a dialogue with the people. The people were not (as was customary) told, "We will give you... " No, they were told, "Here you have. Now fight with all your might so liberty and happiness may be yours." This was no doling out of alms but rather participation in a revolutionary process as the inevitable prerequisite for man's vindication. No mere performance in search of spectators this, but rather a revolutionary movement which identified its protagonists. That spirit, that concept of struggle for the liberation of the peoples, lives on in Latin America 20 years after the attack on the Moncada.

The attack itself was an unleashing of the indignation accumulated throughout a century of humiliations and political and economic outrages. Cuba had always been the proscenium in the vast American theater of Yankee exploitation. The leader of the attack on the military fortress in Santiago de Cuba described it in his defense as follows :

"The future of the country and the solution of its problems cannot continue to depend on the selfish interests of a handful of financiers, or on the cold calculation of profits that ten or twelve magnates draw up in their air-conditioned offices. The country cannot remain on its knees begging for miracles from a few dozen golden calves like one in the Old Testament that was destroyed by the fury of a prophet. Golden calves can't perform miracles.

Neither the financiers and magnates nor the US Ambassador in Havana, neither the US State Department nor the ruler of the moment, with his forehead scraping the ground, ever realized that that was the true, authentic, legitimate verdict of that trial.

It took the imperialists some time to realize what had happened. Images came to a focus in front of the retina. They saw the man but not the revolutionary, the form but not the content. After all, they had a gorilla at the head of a powerful army. They were backed by a myth. There was a mutual aid pact, a military mission in Havana and an OAS.

But the idea that the future of the country and the solution of the problems couldn't continue to depend on the selfish interests of a handful of financiers took deep root in Latin America with the example of the Cuban Revolution.

IN Cuba, the war and repression unleashed against the revolutionaries in the' 50s were no obstacle to businessmen, car salesmen, Wall Street firms, the Havana Stock Market, international firms, sugar speculators, the Mafia and US politicians. The Las Vegas gamblers moved their tables to Havana, and Senator Kenneth Johnson, a Republican, and Clifford Jones, Governor of Nevada, a Democrat, went into the gambling business with the Havana Hilton Hotel.

In its war and the repression, the regime used arms generously provided by Yankee imperialism. The Guantanamo Naval Base — on territory stolen from Cuba—was the center of air operations against the fighters in the Sierra Maestra. A veritable arsenal was placed at the disposal of the regime for use in crushing a rebellion whose full extent, though only vaguely perceived by the imperialists.

In May 1958, with the regime made bold by its having succeeded in frustrating the April 9 strike, a total of 14 battalions—some 10,000 men—backed by the Air Force, artillery, the Navy and tanks—were thrown into a savage offensive against the rebel positions in Cuba's highest mountains.

By October, however, it became evident that the imperialists considered the revolutionary process dangerous to their interests not only in Cuba but in the rest of Latin America, as well. The words "nationalization," "sovereignty" and "agrarian reform", which now formed part of the Cuban revolutionaries' language, augured structural changes unforeseen in the imperialists' plans.

The US government, through Lincoln White, a State Department spokesman, threatened to intervene in the struggle. The Cuban revolutionaries reply was clear and to the point. In a broadcast over *Radio Rebelde* on October 25, Fidel said,

The are duties to the homeland that must be fulfilled regardless of the price. The threats contained in your latest statement do no honor to such a large and powerful country as the United States. Moreover while threats are effective with cowardly and abject people, they will never work with men who are willing to die in the defense of their homeland.

Later, the United States tried to destroy all the signs pointing to the success of the Revolution by launching all its economic and military power against it, but communications between Cuba and the rest of Latin America had already been established, precisely as a result of the vendetta which Yankee imperialism and its monopolies declared against the small island in the Caribbean — because it was also against all the other peoples of Latin America.

The solidarity proclaimed in History Will Absolve Me established interaction among the peoples of Latin America. The activity of each of the peoples was largely determined by that of the others. The words "nationalization," "sovereignty" and "agrarian reform" went on to become a common denominator throughout Latin America.

The principles outlined in the Moncada program began to take root all over Latin America, in keeping with the specific situation in each country. There was a fundamental reason for this. The Cuban Revolution had given rise to a fervent passion to struggle for a common cause. The Cuban Revolution was the great interlocutor of America and the pioneer in inevitable transformation. Its essence was man's integrity. The aspirations of the Latin American masses—colonialized exploited, hungry—were the same those of the people of Cuba.

The United States's race against time—and against the Cuban Revolution—begun in 1959 became a race against history itself. In the long course of the aggression against Cuba, millions of Latin Americans—deprived of progress, technology, universal culture and development—discovered their own strength and did away with the myth of the "free world" and "inter-American system."

Because of the Cuban-US war, the other peoples of Latin America, too, began to realize that the "free world," the "inter-American system," "mutual aid" and the Organization of American States were nothing but a smokscreen for the economic and social structure serving those who exploited their resources—which they would have to save if they were to rebuild their economic, social, political and cultural life and regain their status as human beings after centuries of exploitation, painful mutilation and slavish mimicry.

The attack on the Moncada was the catalyst that set a series of events in our country and Latin America as a whole into motion, and its effects have been, to a great extent, reciprocal.

On the eve of the 20th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada, Latin America no longer finds itself "on its knees begging for miracles from a few dozen golden calves like the one in the Old Testament that was destroyed by the fury of a prophet. Golden calves can't perform miracles."

JOSE A. BENITEZ
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18-6-73

DRVN - HPR

Mutual understanding and complete unanimity

ACCORDING to VNA, a delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam headed by Mr Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Prime Minister of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, paid an official friendship visit to the Hungarian People's Republic from July 16 to 23, 1973.

The Viet Nam Party and Government delegation was received by Mr Kadar Janos, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Loconczki Pal, President of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Vietnamese delegation held talks with the Hungarian Party and State leaders on the strengthening of the friendship and co-operation between the two countries, and on the new developments in the struggle of the Vietnamese people, as well as on topical international problems of mutual concern.

During the talks, the two sides exchanges views on the further development of the fraternal relations between the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Hungarian People's Republic, and on further expansion of the co-operation between the two countries.

The Hungarian side stressed that the Hungarian People's Republic will within her capabilities, continue preserving for the Vietnamese people every assistance to heal the wounds of war, rebuild their country, and develop their creative labour for the building of socialist society.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic highly values the stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam of strictly implementing the Paris Agreement and demanding that the United States and the Saigon administration do the same. It fully supports the stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam expounded on June 28, 1973 which conforms with the Paris Agreement and is aimed at quickly solving the internal affairs of South Viet Nam along the path of peace and democracy in the spirit of national reconciliation and concord and on the basis of the recognition of the reality that there now exist in South Viet Nam two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces.

The Hungarian delegation expressed the hope of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to fully develop its relations in all fields with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the sole authentic representative of the people in South Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese side sincerely wished the Hungrian people many and ever greater achievements in the successful fulfilment of the 4th five-year plan worked out by the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party aimed at building socialism in Hungary comprehensively and at a high tempo.

The Vietnamese people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam highly valued Hungary's participation and her positive activities in the International Commission of Control and Supervisions aimed at serious implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, thus directly contributing to the preservation and consolidation of peace in Viet Nam.

During the visit, many agreements on the granting of loans and non-refund military aid by the Hungarian People's Republic to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as well as the agreement on goods exchange and payments between the two countries for 1974 were signed. These agreements are clear evidences of the sincere friendship and solidarity in the spirit of proletarian internationalism between the Vietnamese and Hungarian peoples.

Proceeding from its unswerving proletarian internationalist stand toward fraternal Vietnamese people and in consideration of the situation and the tasks of reconstruction in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam after an atrocious war and with a view to supporting and assisting the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has decided to consider the loans that Hungary had granted to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam over the past years as gratuitous.

Agreement on China's free economic aid to South Viet Nam signed

AN agreement on China's emergency supplementary free economic aid to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam for 1973 was signed on July 19 in Peking.

Li Chiang, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, and RSVN Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang signed the agreement on behalf of their respective Governments.

Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council of China, attended the signing ceremony.

Present on the Chinese side were also Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs ; Wang Jo-chieh, Ambassador Extraodinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the RSVN ; Wang Pin, Head of Department of the Ministry of Foreign Trade ; Liang Feng, Deputy Head of the Department for Asia of the Chinese Foreign Ministry ; Yang Jung-chieh, Head of Department of the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries, and leading members of departments concerned.

On the Vietnamese side were the economic specialists' group of the RSVN ; Counsellor Tran Binh ; and diplomatic officials of the RSVN embassy in Peking.

Nguyen Tien, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the DRVN in China, was on hand.

A sensible decision

ON July 3, 1973 the Government of the Republic of Senegal recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, a sound decision, consistent with the aspirations and interests of the peoples of Senegal and Viet Nam and warmly hailed by the world at large.

But it has upset and maddened the Nguyen Van Thieu administration. A Saigon spokesman described it as "an intervention in the foreign affairs of South Viet Nam." He even threatened "appropriate measures." Later, the Saigon administration sent a note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Senegal saying that the decision of the Senegal Government was in contravention of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, blatantly styling itself "the only legal and constitutional government of South Viet Nam" and demanding that the Senegal Government reconsider it.

In response to this protest, Senegal's President Leopol Sedar Senghor read on July 17, 1973 a communiqué to the Cabinet Council confirming the decision of his Government. Afterward, at a weekly press conference, Mr Daouda Sow, Minister of Information of Senegal declared: "Senegal's Head of State held that the act of recognition was a fully deliberate exercice of the sovereignty of Senegal. No pressure from outside can change it."

The dogs can bark, the caravan goes on. As an independent and sovereign country, Senegal has acted in accordance with its position and the supreme interests of its nation, but not under any outside pressure.

Once more the true colours of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique have been exposed. All their outbursts are but desperate reactions to the strong revolutionary current of the peoples of various countries, an expression of the baseness and ignorance of a group of lackeys to the imperialists obsessed by their and their masters' self interest. Everybody knows that the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam acknowledges the existence of two administrations, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces, an undeniable fact that one has to take into account when resolving the internal affairs of South Viet Nam. Its provisions can neither wipe off the subservient nature of the Nguyen Van Thieu clique of traitors, nor obscure the Saigon administration's role as a tool for neocolonialism. They cannot put on the same footing the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, the representative of peace and social progress who persistently upholds the legitimate right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, and the Saigon administration, a creature of imperialism and instrument of neo-colonialism, shock troops for the realisation of the Nixon doctrine which is in fact a counter-revolutionary global policy of the United States, and who has been sabotaging peace, the Paris Agreement and national reconciliation and concord in South Viet Nam. Therefore, in the context of the existence of two administrations, two armies and two zones of control in South Viet Nam, the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government is an act in favour of peace and social progress, of the Vietnamese people who are battling for national liberation and of all fighters for independence and freedom. It is a yardstick for measuring the nature and progressive position of a government.

The recognition of Provisional Revolutionary Government by the Government of the Republic of Senegal and many other governments in the recent past is a move in favour of genuine peace and friendly relations with Viet Nam and Senegal.

It is in full conformity with the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam. On the contrary, by declaring itself "the only legal and constitutional government" and striving to prevent the establishment of friendship relations between the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Republic of Senegal, the Saigon administration has run counter to the aspirations for peace and national concord and the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreement and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communiqué. For all its hostility to the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Thieu regime cannot prevent the governments of the progressive and sovereign countries in the world which are in close touch with the reality in South Viet Nam from reserving to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam a worthy position and precious sympathy and support.

The people, the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam warmly acclaim the wise decision, sound position and resolute attitude of the Government of the Republic of Senegal and President Leopol Sedar Senghor as an active contribution to the struggle of our people and the world's peoples for US and Saigon strict implementation of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communiqué.

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